

617 category of civil servants. In this manner they would fall under the
 623 written law and could be obliged to practice monogamy, whereas now
 nearly all of the "native chiefs" are precisely the maintainers and
 promoters of polygamy. If this had /156/ been enforced from the
 start, then polygamy, instead of spreading, would have virtually dis-
 appeared from the native society.

5. Splitting of the Clan

613 After all that has been said before, it must be rather apparent how
 an autonomous clan can split up and, thereby, form two autonomous
 clans.

When a clan has expanded too far, its leaders cross over the
 boundaries of blood relationship, and offenses against the law of ex-
 ogamy occur. When such offenses are multiplied, further separation
 is gradually aimed at to make marriages possible. Such a situation
 between two parts of the same clan, who are striving for "legal
 autonomy," is called imbana, a term that signifies that unlawful re-
 lations exist between the two. It generally occurs between member
 groups that have the same male ancestor, but not the same female
 ancestor—that is, they are issue from different wives of the same
 founder.

Another cause of splitting is the voluntary or obligatory withdrawal
 of one of the members. When he establishes himself outside, begets
 a sizeable progeny, and acquires a patrimony of his own, the relations
 with his own clan become less frequent; and the separated faction
 gradually begins to settle smaller lawuits, to maintain its own grave-
 yard, to bury the umbilical cords of its children in its own territory,
 to take on its own name, and to refer to its own founder.

Often also at the source of this estrangement lies the refusal of a
 certain fraction of the clan to submit to the authority of the clan
 members.

6. Legal Dependents

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 608 Until now we have spoken only of the ethnic clan: of the members
 who belong to it through descent. They /157/ are the sole bearers of

613 authority (nyika). Each clan can, however, also take in other persons
614 who fall outside the order of authority, but who legally belong to the
615 clan. Along with the real descendants, they make up the legal clan.

These are, in the first place, the wives who have married into the clan, the children brought with them (mbumba), and the lawful house-keepers. In addition, there are the children who have been taken in; then the war prisoners and slaves; and finally the Pygmies. The women married into the clan are naturally separate, as are also the Pygmies who form a completely separate community. The others are gradually trained as children, receive their part in the general responsibility and protection, their place in the court session, etc. Depending on the degree to which they develop in the bosom of the clan which has taken them in, they can constitute a separate group in it, which becomes more and more independent.

7. The Maternal Clan

612 Each Nkonde has a double "fatherland": his wife and his horyango.
613 The horyango is the paternal clan of his mother. His mother gave birth to him there; her blood relations live there and receive him with motherly love and will protect him against all difficulties; he has often passed a large part of his happiest childhood years there; and there he can always find a safe shelter when, for one reason or another, he might lose the paternal clan.

The structure of the maternal clan naturally resembles that of the paternal clan in every way. If we treat it specially here, it is not in order to speak of the form, but only to point out the specific rights that each person has in his maternal clan.

611 Just as all of the brothers and sisters of my father are my "fathers,"
612 so all of the brothers and sisters of my mother are my "mothers."
613 Mother's brother, that is, my maternal uncle, I call nyangumpa,
nyangumpa. All the nephews and nieces on the mother's side are my "children." A special tie binds me to the children of the nyika of my mother, that is, to the children of the women who was acquired by the maternal clan with the bride price /156/ that had been paid for my mother by my wife. Mother is, thus, the nyika, the woman or mistress, of those children who call me their father.

602 As long as I continue to live in my own paternal clan, I have the
613 right to special care and love from the maternal clan. If I cannot find